

1. Son of Na'di-Aššur, from Assur (after reign of Assurbanipal): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—SU son of Na'di-Aššur acts as a witness for Aššur-garua-nere A 314 r. 6 (629*).

2. Individual from Assur (after reign of Assurbanipal): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—SU acts as a witness for Aššur-matu-taqin son of Mannu-ki-Arbail Rfdn 17 13:17 (626*).

3. Individual from Assur, associated with Nabû-ballissu (reign of Assurbanipal or later): In a letter from Nabû-ballissu to his mother Kallutu and to Qarruru, ^{maš-šur}—PAB¹.MEŠ¹—SU is instructed to retrieve, together with Qarruru, a debt note for more than eight minas of silver which Nabû-ballissu owes to Aššur-matu-taqin and then to cancel it in the presence of the creditor and Ululaiu ZA 73 13:9; possibly the same person as 2. → Deller (1986) 23; Neumann (1997) 281–293.

4. Dignitary in Assur: ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—SU is in charge of the crown prince's offerings to the Aššur temple SAA 7 193 r. 3 (not dated).

5. Mistake: In a copy of the Eponym List, ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—[SU LUGAL] is a mistake for Sin-ahhe-eriba, king and eponym of the year 687 Eponym List 687. → Ungnad (1938) 426 n. 4.

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫḫe-iddina see Aššur-aḫu-iddina.

Aššur-aḫḫe-šallim (“O Aššur, keep the brothers safe!”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim, ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim, ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—DI.

1. Individual from Assur (late reign of Assurbanipal and later): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim¹ acts as a witness for Aššur-matu-taqin son of Mannu-ki-Arbail Rfdn 17 4 r. 18 (631*); ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—DI acts as a witness for Aššur-matu-taqin, Mannu-ki-ili and Ila-eḫi Rfdn 17 17:13 (612*).

2. Individual from Assur (late reign of Assurbanipal): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim owes silver to Mušezib-Aššur A 1927:3 and envelope A 1927*:1, 4 (623*); possibly identical with 1.; the seal used here is not the one discussed in 5.

3. Individual from Assur: ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim (^{maš-šur}—PAB—[MEŠ¹—šal-lim] in l. 19) is mentioned in a list of persons connected with plots of land, possibly the owners of these estates VAT 10467:6, 11, 19 (not dated); may be identical with 1. or 2.

4. Son of Urdu-[Mullissu] or Urdu-[Inurta], from Kalhu, associated with the Nabû temple (7th century): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim son of ^{maš-šur}—NIN.[URTA/LIL] acts as a witness in a dedication to the Nabû temple in Kalhu ND 5403 l.e. 3 (date lost).

5. Owner of a cylinder seal: ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šal-lim is the inscription on a seal of chalcidony (?) of unknown provenance Orient 29 (1993) 122f:8.11:2.

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫḫe-šur-ereš (“Aššur has desired his brothers”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—šur-ereš; CAD E 284; Saporetti (1970) II 117f; Tallqvist (1918) 33.

Scribe from Nineveh (late reign of Assurbanipal): ^{maš-šur}—P[AP.MEŠ¹—šur-ereš] LÚ.A.BA writes

and witnesses a slave-sale contract for Ninuaiu, the king's eunuch ADD 260 r. 14 (date lost, but can be delimited by archival context).

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫḫe-ušur (“Aššur, protect the brothers!”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—PAB; Individual from Nineveh: ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—PAB acts as a witness for Sin-na'di ADD 464 r. 11 (date lost).

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫḫe-... (Aššur [...] the brothers” or “O Aššur, [...] the brothers!”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—...; cf. Aššur-aḫḫe-balliṭ; Aššur-aḫḫe-eriba; Aššur-aḫḫe-šallim; Aššur-aḫḫe-ušur; Aššur-aḫḫe-šur-ereš.

1. Landowner, possibly from Nineveh: ^{maš-šur}—PAB.[MEŠ¹—x x] (^{maš-šur}—PAB.M[MEŠ¹—x x] in l. 15) sells a field with two other men to ^{maš-šur}—PAB.M[MEŠ¹—x x] son of Iaḫuru ADD 397:3, 15 (date lost).

2. Individual from Assur (reign of Assurbanipal): ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—[x] acts as a witness for Nabû-sakip VAT 19537 l.e. 1 (639*).

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫu-ereš (“Aššur has desired a brother”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB—KAM; CAD E 284; Saporetti (1970) II 117f.

Father of the brewer Abinasi, from Assur (reign of Shalmaneser V): The brewer Abinasi son of ^{maš-šur}—PAB—KAM acts as a witness along with members of the staff of the temple of Ištar A 3201 r. 10 (732).

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫu-ibni (“Aššur has created a brother”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB—DÜ.

Father of Šumma-Nabû from Assur (after reign of Assurbanipal): Šumma-Nabû son of ^{maš-šur}—PAB—DÜ acts as a witness for Aššur-šeziḫanni VAT 8266 r. 7 (622*).

R. Jas

Aššur-aḫu-iddina (“Aššur has given a brother”); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—MU, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—i-di-nam, ^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ, ^{maš-šur}—PAB—SUM-na, ^{maš-šur}—PAB—SUM, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—AŠ, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—SUM, ^{maš-šur}—a-ḫu-i-d[i-nam], ^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ, ^{maš-šur}—PAB—SUM-na, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—AŠ, ^{maš-šur}—PAB—SUM-na, ^{maš-šur}—ŠEŠ—SUM-na (without the personal determinative), ^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ, and, as a rare variant of the king's name, ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—AŠ (“Aššur has given brothers”); ft. ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—AŠ (Hebr., 2 Ki 19:37), ^{maš-šur}—PAB.MEŠ¹—AŠ (Aram., see Sachau [1911] 153 l. 1 and 16; 155 l. 5 and 12, 157 l. 1, 12, 15), Ἀσσοῦδος (Gk.), Ἀσσοῦδος (Gk.), Borger (1956) x; Burstein (1978) 25 and 38; Freydank - Saporetti (1979) 30; Saporetti (1970) 101f; cf. Aššur-etel-ilāni-mukin-apli; Aššur-etel-ilāni-mukinni.

1. Bodyguard from Kalhu (reign of Sargon II): ^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ is listed in an administrative roster as one of twelve bodyguards ND 2732 r. 10 (not dated).

2. Individual from Assur (reign of Sargon II): [^{maš-šur}—PAB—AŠ LÚ.x x], acts as a witness in a legal complaint brought before the vizier VAT 10049 r. 5 (715).

3. Individual from Assur (reign of Sennacherib): ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ acts as a witness for Aššur-šallim and another man A 2509 b.e. 13 and envelope A 2509* r. 6 (697); possibly identical with 2.

4. Employer of a doctor, from Nineveh (reign of Sennacherib): Šemahu, the physician of ^maš-šur¹¹—PAB—SUM-n[a], buys an estate SAA 6 126:9 (697). It is quite possible that this man is the later king of Assyria (for this opinion, see, e.g., Nissinen [1998] 19f n. 74). However, there are several homonymous contemporaries attested at the court of Nineveh. Since an identification with neither the prince (7.) nor with the cohort commander (5.) nor with the oil-presser (6.) can be established beyond doubt, it seems best to distinguish the present person from his namesakes.

5. Cohort commander from Nineveh (reign of Sennacherib): ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ LÚ*.GAL—ki-šir acts as a witness for Silim-[Aššur] SAA 6 132:11 (695).

6. Oil-presser from Nineveh (reign of Sennacherib): ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ LÚ*.i.ŠUR acts as a witness for the lady Barsipitu SAA 6 96 r. 11 (695).

7. King of Assyria between 680-669, son and successor of Sennacherib, rebuilder of Babylon, conqueror of Sidon, conqueror of Egypt after a failed first attempt, sponsor of palace building projects in Nineveh and Kalhu and of seven temple construction projects in Assyria and eight in Babylonia, and father of Assurbanipal and Šamaš-umu-ukin (among others), who succeeded him on the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia respectively.

At the beginning, it seemed unlikely that Esarhaddon would ever rule Assyria. His name, which means, "Aššur has given a brother," was that of an also-ran, a younger son well down in the line of succession, and his own inscriptions confirm that was indeed his position. But events, his own determination, and perhaps his mother, conspired to bring him to power nonetheless. In 694 one of his elder brothers, Aššur-nadin-šumi, who was serving as Assyrian regent in Babylonia and probably being groomed to succeed Sennacherib on the throne of Assyria, was unexpectedly kidnapped by the neighboring Elamites and put to death. Sennacherib, perhaps at the urging of Esarhaddon's formidable mother Naqi'a (Zakutu), unexpectedly passed over older sons to name Esarhaddon as heir apparent, incidentally also assigning him the more appropriate, but cumbersome, alternate name, Aš-šur-etel-ilāni-mukin-apli, "Aššur, prince of the gods, is the one who established the heir."

Although Sennacherib endeavored to strengthen Esarhaddon's somewhat irregular position by assembling the people of Assyria, along with Esarhaddon's brothers, and imposing on them all a solemn oath to support the new heir, Esarhaddon was shortly discredited by his brothers — "calumny, slander and lies," according to Esarhaddon's inscriptions — and he was forced to withdraw into hiding for his own safety. At this rather bleak moment in Esarhaddon's fortunes, Sennacherib himself was assassinated by another son, and the brothers who were still in Assyria began to battle among themselves over the succession. In an unexpected and daring move, Esarhaddon led his

troops down mountain passes in mid-winter, confronted his brothers' armies on the plains west of Nineveh, defeated them resoundingly, and marched into the capital at the beginning of the year 680 to claim the throne he had so nearly lost.

Despite this rocky beginning and a chronic illness, probably *lupus*, that dogged him until his death, Esarhaddon proved to be a successful ruler, particularly in foreign affairs. His program of public works and other favours for recently conquered Babylonia, inaugurated with a personal appearance in Babylon at the very beginning of his reign, won decades of relatively peaceful cooperation from the long-rebellious Babylonians. An early military campaign (676) against the Phœnician city of Sidon and its northern allies succeeded in nipping a western rebellion in the bud. Three years later an equally successful attack on Shubria, just north of Assyria, secured quiet on that frontier as well. A rather insignificant campaign to impose Assyrian control on a handful of restless Median rulers became the prelude to a journey of exploration to the east, eventually reaching the forbidding salt deserts of the Dasht-i-Kavir in northern Iran in what appears to have been a daring — if in retrospect unpromising — effort to develop routes for conquest or direct trade with the distant east. Esarhaddon's greatest military achievement, however, came in the year 671, when he succeeded in leading his troops across the Sinai peninsula to conquer Egypt on his second attempt, a conquest which brought the Assyrian empire briefly to its greatest geographic expansion.

In spite of these achievements abroad, Esarhaddon's reign was not a quiet one. Worried letters to the king from his doctors indicate that the pain of his mysterious illness repeatedly confined the king to his chambers. Eclipses portending danger to the king forced him to name a series of temporary substitute rulers while he himself assumed the guise of a farmer to deflect the impending harm away from himself. Records of more than two hundred royal requests for oracles during Esarhaddon's reign reflect more routine worries, ranging from uncertainties about the loyalty of proposed royal appointees to anxieties about whether proposed campaigns would be successful or whether proposed diplomatic marriages would prove worthwhile; some of the questions asked — such as repeated inquiries about whether the collection of horse taxes could be carried out without the tax collectors being kidnapped or killed — suggest that imperial control of the more distant boundaries was already eroding. The most serious threat, however, was internal. In 670, only a year before his death, the king took the extreme measure of assassinating many of his own magnates, suggesting that even after ten years of rule Esarhaddon still seriously feared an uprising in the homeland.

In autumn of the following year, the Egyptians revolted against their Assyrian-appointed officials, and Esarhaddon led an army west to subdue them. He died on the way in north Syria, a victim of illness rather than of the treachery he had so long feared. Although his chosen heir, Assurbanipal, claimed the throne without incident — thanks in

part to support from the still redoubtable queen-mother – Assyria was rapidly approaching its final days, when the forces Esarhaddon had briefly kept in check would at last combine to destroy the empire and usher in a new age.

a. Genealogy and close relatives: Palace of ^{maš}šur–šEŠ–AŠ, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, (who was) son of Sargon, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad Borger (1956) Ass.D:1ff (inscription on two vases taken as booty in 677). I, ^{maš}[aš⁷–šur⁷]–PAB⁷–AŠ ..., son of Sennacherib ... (who was) son of Sargon ..., royal descendant of Bel-bani, king of Assyria Borger (1956) AsBbA:14 and 47f (written in 671 or later); (I, Esarhaddon, am) seed of the ancient royal line of Bel-bani, son of Adasi, founder of the kingship of Assyria Borger (1956) Mnm.A r. 16f (written in 671 or later). I, ^{maš}aš–PAB–AŠ, ... built a palace in the midst of Tarbišu as a dwelling for Assurbanipal, “great king’s son of the Succession House,” my son and offspring Borger (1956) Trb.B:1 and 6-9 (written 671 or later). ^{maš}aš–šur–šEŠ–SUM-na, [great] kin[g, mighty king, king] of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad, ..., son of Sennacherib ... Borger (1996) Asarh. Nin.H-1:1. Šadditu, daughter of Sennacherib and sister of ^{maš}[aš–šur–PA]B–AŠ, king of Assyria has bought land SAA 6 251:6 (date lost). “You are (only) a daughter-in-law, consort of Assurbanipal, crown prince and heir apparent of ^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, king of Assyria” ABL 308 r. 7 (message from Esarhaddon’s eldest daughter Šeru’a-eṭirat). The treaty that ^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, king of Assyria, concluded on behalf of Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate of Assyria, and Šamaš-šumu-ukin, the crown prince designate of Babylon SAA 2 6// 666 (Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty, 672). Belonging to Ešarra-hammāt, queen of ^{maš}aš–PAB–AŠ, king of Assyria Ashmolean 1967.1483 = Lambert (1969) (inscription on a votive eye-stone of Esarhaddon’s wife). Offerings for AN.ŠĀR–ŠE[š–SUM-na] and various members of his family are listed in an administrative text from Assur Ass 13956bq:3 = Weidner (1939-41) 214. For a list of the children of Esarhaddon see Parpola (1983a) 117-119 and cf. Aššur-bani-apli.

b. Major events of Esarhaddon’s career: In a copy of the Eponym List, the coronation of [^{maš}aš–šur–š]EŠ–AŠ is recorded for the eponym year of Nabû-ahhe-ereš Eponym List 681 (A 1 v 44). Me, ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–ŠEŠ–SUM-na, truly you chose from the assembly of my older brothers (to set right what was wrong in Babylonia) Borger (1956) Bab.A, Ep. 11:10 and Bab.C ii 8 (see CT 44 5). I, ^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ ... quickly heard of their (i.e. his brothers’) evil deeds and cried, “Alas!” (before taking omens and setting out to battle for the throne) Borger (1956) Nin.A i 53 (dated 673 and 672). On the 8th (or 18th or 28th) of Addaru (xii.), ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–ŠEŠ–MU, his (Sennacherib’s) son, sat upon the throne in Assyria (after the murder of his father and a brief civil war) BabChr I iii 38 = Grayson (1975) 82, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 681/80. To me,

^{maš}[aš]–šur–[šEŠ⁷–SUM⁷(-na⁷)], (after I took the throne, you gods sent good omens) Borger (1956) Bab.B, Ep. 12c:21. (After various great gods) caused me, ^{maš}(^{aš})aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, to sit joyfully upon the throne of my father (the ruler of the Sealand refused to perform acts of fealty toward me) Borger (1956) Nin.A ii 46 (dated 673 and 672). In the first year of ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–ŠEŠ–MU, Zerkitti-lišir, governor of the Sealand, (abandoned his siege of Ur in the face of the approaching Assyrian magnates, fled to Elam and was killed) BabChr I iii 39f = Grayson (1975) 82, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 680/79. [^{maš}AN.ŠĀR⁷]–šEŠ–SUM-na, great king, mighty king ... (whom the great gods gave wisdom and named to kingship over the people) Borger (1956) Ass.A i 1f (dated 679). I, ^{maš}aš–šur–šEŠ–SUM-na, king of Assyria (who loves the people of Bātil dearly, conceiving the idea of increasing their privileges), wrote anew the tablet of their freedoms (with substantial increases) Borger (1956) Ass.A ii 37 - iii 6 (dated 679). I, ^{maš}aš–šur–šEŠ–SUM-na, king of Assyria, humble king, pious prince ... assembled the people of the lands whom I had taken captive, made them bear hoe and basket (destroyed the old Ešarra temple, laid a new foundation, made bricks, and built there a new temple for the god Assur) Borger (1956) Ass.A iv 7ff (dated 679). I, ^{aš}aš–šur–šEŠ–SUM-na, slave who fears their great godhead (turned my mind to and commanded the work of rebuilding Babylon) Borger (1956) Bab.E, Ep. 15:27 (with additions from new copy of Bab.E). I, ^{maš}(^{aš})aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, king of Assyria, king of the four corners (of the world) ... (sent troops to help the Arab ruler Iatā) Borger (1956) Nin.A iv 25 (dated 673 and 672) and Nin.D. I, ^{maš}aš–šur–šEŠ–SUM-na, king of Assyria ... (turned my mind to building a palace for my royal dwelling in Kalhu) Borger (1956) Klch.A:45 (dated 676 and 672). I, ^{maš}aš–šur–šEŠ–AŠ, mighty king, king of the world ... at that time I made that terrace [in Assur], and a palace for my royal dwelling I built upon it Borger (1956) Ass.E:1ff (672 or later). At that time, I, ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–PAB–AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria (considered renewing the statues of the great gods) Borger (1956) AsBbA r. 9 (671 or after). The city URU.kar=^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ (“Quay of Esarhaddon”) I established (on the site of conquered Sidon) Borger (1956) Smlt. 20 (671 or after). In the 8th year of ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–šEŠ–MU on the [x] day of the month Kanunu (x.), the land of Šubria was captured (and) sacked BabChr I iv 19f = Grayson (1975) 84, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 673/72. I, ^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, king of Assyria, forelock of my army ... (set off on a campaign against Egypt) Borger (1956) Nin.E ii 16. To me, ^{maš}aš–šur–PAB–AŠ, renewer of the god[s], they granted a [good?] fate Borger (1956) AsBbH 6. In the 12th year, the king of Assyria went to Egypt, fell sick on the way, and on the [tenth] of the month Arahšamna (viii.) died. For twelve years, ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–šEŠ–MU (AN.ŠĀR–šEŠ–MU in BabChr 14) exercised kingship over Assyria BabChr I iv 30-32 = Grayson (1975) 86 and BabChr 14 r. 5-7 = Grayson (1975) 127, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 669/68. For eight years of Sennacherib, twelve years of ^{maš}AN.ŠĀR–šEŠ–SUM-na, the god Bel dwelt

in Baltil (= Assur), and there was no *akitu* festival BabChr 14 r. 8-10 = Grayson (1975) 127, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 669/68.

c. Named in his own royal inscriptions: [ʾAN].ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na (building the Aššur temple) Borger (1956) Ass.B:1; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ (building a palace in Assur) Borger (1956) Ass.G:1; ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ, king of the world Borger (1956) Ass.H:2; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-SUM Borger (1957-58) 113:3; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ Borger (1957-58) 113:9; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, [grea]t [king] Borger (1956) Bab.A and Bab.C i 1 (for C, see Borger [1964] 143); me, ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-MU, truly you chose from the assembly of my older brothers Borger (1956) Bab.D, Ep. 11:10; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na (in the date formula) Borger (1956) Bab.Datum A1 and C2; *ʾaš-šur*-ŠE[Š]-i-di-nam (in the date formula) Borger (1956) Bab.Datum G; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na (in the date formula) Nougayrol (1957-58) 318:34' = Bab.Datum E; ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (on a votive seal) Borger (1956) Bab.H(Ass.):1; ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (on bricks) Borger (1956) Bab.I:2; ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (on bricks) Borger (1956) Bab.J:2; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ // ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ // *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ (on nine bricks, with varying layout and writing) Borger (1956) Bab.K:1; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ (on a brick) Borger (1956) Bab.L:3; ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (on a brick) Borger (1956) Bab.M:1; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-MU, var. ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (handwritten in Sumerian, on bricks) Borger (1956) Bab.N:3; *ʾaš-šur*-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, great king Borger (1956) Klch.A:1 (var. in unpublished duplicates listed by Borger); palace of *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ; var. ʾaš-PAB-AŠ Borger (1956) Klch.D:1; palace of *ʾaš-šur*-ŠEŠ-SUM-na Borger (1956) Nin.A i 1 (dated 673 and 672); palace of *ʾaš-šur*-ŠEŠ-SUM-na Borger (1956) Nin.B i 1 (dated 676); I, *ʾaš-šur*-ŠEŠ-SUM-na (var. PAB, var. AŠ) Borger (1956) Nin.A ii 12 = 1929-10-12, 1 (variants listed by Borger, the documents are unspecified); ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria (concerning the temple Emašmaš and the temple of Šamaš) Borger (1956) Nin.G:1 (dated 677); [ʾ]AN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria (concerning the construction of a temple for Sin, Nikkal, Šamaš, and Aia) Borger (1996) Asarh. Nin.H:1:12; me, [ʾA]N.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na // *ʾaš-šur*-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, the king, favour[ite] ... (concerning the same temple) Borger (1996) Asarh. Nin.H:1:25; palace of ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM, great king (on gaming boards) Borger (1956) Nin.K:1; palace of *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, mighty king (on a brick) Borger (1956) Nin.L:1; palace of *ʾaš*-PAB-AŠ (on a brick) Borger (1956) Nin.M:1; palace of *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ (on a vase) Borger (1956) Nin.N:1; I, ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ, great king (on a brick) Borger (1956) Nin.O:1; palace of *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, king of the world (on a bronze lion weight, booty from Egyptian campaign) Borger (1956) Nin.P:1 (671 or later); [a]š-PAB-AŠ ... (fragment of alabaster bowl, booty from Kush) Borger (1956) Nin.Q:1 (671 or later); (for the goddess Ungal-Nibru of Nippur) ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (repaired her temple) Borger (1956) Npr.A = Steele (1950) 71:5; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-AŠ', king of Assyria (brick for temple of Enlil) Borger (1956) Npr.D:2;

ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria (built in Ekur of Enlil) Borger (1956) Npr.C:3f; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-SUM-na Borger (1956) Trb.A:1 (dated 672) = Nassouhi (1927) 23:1; I, *ʾaš*-PAB-AŠ, great king, mighty king (built a palace for Assurbanipal) Borger (1956) Trb.C:1; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria Borger (1956) Trb.D:1; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ([PAB])-SUM-na ([/AŠ]), great king, mighty king, king of the world (built in the Eanna temple) Borger (1956) Uruk A:8; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na // ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-MU, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad (repaired Enirgalanna in Eanna for Ištar) Borger (1956) Uruk B:6 = YOS 1 41 (variant in duplicates); to me, ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na // ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-MU may a good fate be given Borger (1956) Uruk B:17 = YOS 1 41 (variant in duplicates); ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria Borger (1956) Uruk C:6; ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na king of Assyria Borger (1956) Uruk D:2 = YOS 1 42; for Ištar of Uruk, lady of the lands, ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (renewed the Eanna temple) Borger (1956) Uruk E, F, and G:3; I, ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ (the gods chose) Borger (1956) AsBbA:14; I, *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-A[Š], took the hand of his (i.e. Bel's) great divinity (and let the gods enter the newly rebuilt city of Babylon) Borger (1956) AsBbE r. 20 (note that the gods' return, anticipated in this passage, was not in fact accomplished until the reign of Assurbanipal); ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na ... the wise, the capable Borger (1956) AsBbF i 1; I, *ʾaš-šur*-a-ḫu-i-di-nam ... belo[ved] of Enlil Borger (1956) 63 = K. 2388:1; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria Borger (1956) 65 = Mnm.A:13 (671 or later); ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of B[abylon] Borger (1956) 65 = DT 299+1; whoever ... does not heed the word of *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, king of the world, his lord (and does not return fugitives: let me be an example to him) Borger (1956) Gbr.II i 18; I, *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, mighty king Borger (1956) Gbr.II i 25; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-SUM-na, king of Assyria Borger (1956) Frt.L:6; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ Borger (1956) Frt.M:1 (after 671); ʾAN.ŠĀR-ŠEŠ-[iddina] ..., mighty king, king of the world ... [son of] Sennacherib Borger (1956) 90 = K. 7943:1; [ʾaš-šur]-r-ŠEŠ-SUM Borger (1956) 92 = K. 10057:9; I, ʾAN.ŠĀR-PAB-AŠ, powerful king Borger (1956) 101 = 80-7-19,44:1 (amulet inscription); [ʾAN? ŠĀR? Š]EŠ-SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria ... [ki]ng of Babylon Borger (1956) 93 = K. 10220+:1. See also Borger (1956) § 98 = DT 82.

d. Named in his own treaties and loyalty oaths: [Treaty of ʾaš-šur]-PAB-[ʾAŠ?], king of Assyria (with Ba'al, king of Tyre) Borger (1956) 69 = SAA 2 5 i 1 (676); *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ, king of Assyria (same treaty with Tyre) Borger (1956) 69 = SAA 2 5 r. iii 2, 16, 18, 22 (first and last name elements partly restored), 23; *ʾaš-šur*-PAB-AŠ (named as king of Assyria, as father of the newly appointed heirs to the throne, and as imposer of the oaths) SAA 2 6:1, 7, 11, 41, 44, 46, 57, 59, 63, 83, 90, 93, 95, 102, 110, 121, 124, 131, 151, 157, 174, 189, 200, 230, 237, 250, 261, 267, 273, 277, 283,

302, 360, 369, 381, 391, 402, 494, 497, 513, 516, 555, 612, 632f (Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty, dated 672); [sons of ^{AN}.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ]—^{SUM}-na, king of the world SAA 2 14 i 21 (text concerning Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty); (Should I hear an ugly word about him, I will go and tell) ^{maš-šur}-PAB¹—[^{SUM}]-na (my lord) SAA 2 4 r. 7' (Accession Treaty of Esarhaddon); (I will be loyal to Esarhaddon and) [the fa]ce of ^{maš-šur}-PAB—^{SUM}-na (my lord, I will ...) SAA 2 4 r. 9' (Accession Treaty of Esarhaddon); to ^{maš-šur}-PA[B—?] ... you shall SAA 2 7:3 (oath of loyalty to Esarhaddon).

e. Named in inscriptions of his father Sennacherib: Sennacherib, king of the world, gave (to) ^{aš-šur}-PAB—AŠ (an inscribed lion's head) Borger (1956) 108 = BM 91678; (Sennacherib, king of Assyria, gives a crown and jewelry) to ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ (along with a new name, cf. Aššur-etel-ilāni-mukin-apli) SAA 12 88 r. 1. → Frahm (1997) 243f.

f. Named in texts of his mother Naqī'a (= Zakutu): [^{maš-šur}—PAB¹]—AŠ[?] Borger (1956) 86 ii 19 (building inscription); ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na, king of Assyria, beloved son of my heart Borger (1956) 86 iv 13 (building inscription); ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na, king of Assyria, beloved son of my heart Borger (1956) 86 iv 13 (var.) = 81-2-4,173 (unpublished); ^{maš-šur}-PAB—[iddina] Borger (1956) 86 v 6; (the treaty of Zakutu, queen of Sennacherib), mother of ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria SAA 2 8:2.

g. Named in Babylonian Chronicles (see also above): (First year of) [^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na BabChr 14:2 = Grayson (1975) 125, cf. Borger (1956) Chronik 680f79.

h. Named in oracle queries and reports from diviners:

1'. As ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 7 r. 5; SAA 4 9 r. 5; SAA 4 28:4, 7; SAA 4 51 r. 5; SAA 4 63:14; SAA 4 74:3; SAA 4 81:7, 16; SAA 4 111:2; SAA 4 149:2, 7; SAA 4 152:2, 6, r. 1. ^{AN}.ŠĀR—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 169:2. ^{AN}.ŠĀR—^{ŠEŠ}¹—[^{na}] SAA 4 111:10. [^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 169:2. [^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 108:2. SAA 4 152 r. 1. [^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 7:6; SAA 4 137:5; SAA 4 191:2.

2'. As ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 20:3, 4, 6, 9, r. 5; SAA 4 33:5; SAA 4 41:5; SAA 4 44:2; SAA 4 58 r. 9; SAA 4 65:13; SAA 4 84:10, 13; SAA 4 86:2; SAA 4 90:2, r. 5; SAA 4 190:2; SAA 4 129 r. 6; SAA 4 139:23, r. 10; SAA 4 142 r. 8; SAA 4 149 r. 8; SAA 4 154:5, 7, r. 11; SAA 4 155 r. 6; SAA 4 156:3, 7, r. 11, 13; SAA 4 164 r. 4, 9; SAA 4 168:6; SAA 4 188:2; SAA 4 94 r. 3; SAA 4 196:6; ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na¹ SAA 4 109:2; SAA 4 148:2; SAA 4 163:3; SAA 4 215:1; SAA 4 216 r. 1. [^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 41 r. 5; SAA 4 164 r. 6. [^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 20:6. ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 84:6. [^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 150 r. 7. ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 62:6. ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 150 r. 5; SAA 4 157 r. 5. ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 166 r. 7.

3'. As ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 79 r. 5; SAA 4 88:10; SAA 4 139:24; SAA 4 142:22.

2'. or 3'. As [^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 62:2; SAA 4 130 r. 8; SAA 4 154:4. [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 196:12; [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 175:4; [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 199:7; [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 84 r. 18; [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 20 r. 9; SAA 4 57 r. 4; SAA 4 154 r. 10; SAA 4 162:1. [^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 26 r. 7.

4'. As ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 20 r. 8.

5'. As ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ: SAA 4 200:3.

6'. Broken attestations:

a'. End broken: ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—[...] SAA 4 59:9, r. 2. [^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—[...]] SAA 4 218 r. 7. ^{maš-šur}-ŠEŠ—[...]: SAA 4 82 r. 2; ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—[...]: SAA 4 189:4, ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—[...]: SAA 4 20 r. 7; SAA 4 62:14; SAA 4 68:3; SAA 4 150:5; SAA 4 176:4; SAA 4 207:3. ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—[...]: SAA 4 28:9. ^{maš-šur}-[...]: SAA 4 150:7; SAA 4 151 r. 8. ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—[...]: SAA 4 3 r. 6; SAA 4 63:14. ^{maš-šur}-^{ŠEŠ}¹—[...]: SAA 4 151:1. ^{maš-šur}-[...]: SAA 4 89:2 (concerning the crown prince). ^{maš-šur}-[...]: SAA 4 75:3. [^{maš-šur}-...] or ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—[...]: SAA 4 88:2; SAA 4 114 r. 2; SAA 4 157 r. 7; SAA 4 158:4. ^{ma}[...] SAA 4 12:5; SAA 4 141:3,5; SAA 4 179 r. 5.

b'. Middle broken: ^{maš-šur}-[r—...-s] ^{SUM}-na SAA 4 84 r. 14. ^{maš-šur}-[...]-^{SUM}-na or ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—[...]-^{SUM}-na SAA 4 20:8.

c'. Beginning broken: ^{ma}[...]—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 24 r. 7; SAA 4 140:7. [^{ma}...]—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 21 r. 8; SAA 4 33:2; SAA 4 117 r. 7; SAA 4 153 r. 3; SAA 4 167 r. 5; SAA 4 266:4. [^{ma}...]—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na: SAA 4 21 r. 6; SAA 4 28:14; SAA 4 124:4. SAA 4 152:2; SAA 4 210:2. [^{ma}...]—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na¹ SAA 4 121:1. [^{ma}...]—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 64:18; SAA 4 130:3. [^{ma}...]—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 57:2; SAA 4 91 r. 3; SAA 4 119:1; SAA 4 159:11; SAA 4 169:1; SAA 4 177 r. 5; [^{ma}...]—^{SUM}-na¹ SAA 4 61:7. [^{ma}...]—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 31:2; SAA 4 57:4. [^{ma}...]—^{SUM}-na¹ SAA 4 8 r. 3; SAA 4 30:2, r. 7; SAA 4 32:3, 5; SAA 4 84 r. 11; SAA 4 119:2; SAA 4 206 r. 5; SAA 4 217 r. 7. [^{ma}...]—^{ŠEŠ}¹—^{SUM}-na SAA 4 172:1.

i. Named in prophecies: [^{maš-šur}-PAB]—AŠ SAA 9 1 i 4; ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ SAA 9 1 ii 11, 16, iii 8, 13, 26, iv 5, 11, 14, 18, 20, v 26 (673). ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ SAA 9 2 i 15, iii 11, 17, 29; ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ¹ SAA 9 2 iii 19; [^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ¹ SAA 9 2 i 10, 22, 27; [^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ¹ SAA 9 2 i 7, 33 (679). ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ SAA 9 3 i 11, 12, 21, ii 34, iii 15, iv 13, 14, 17; [^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ¹ SAA 9 3 i 16 (680). [^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ¹ SAA 9 4 2 (date lost). ^{maš-šur}-PAB—AŠ SAA 9 5:5 (not dated or date lost).

j. Named in letters: An anonymous Babylonian informs Esarhaddon about the treacherous contacts of Nabū-ahhe-iddina son of Kuppūtī with Elam during the time of crisis after Sennacherib's death directed against AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na VAT SAA 4 923:2 = AfO 17 (1954-56) 6 (not dated); Nabū-ahhe-iddina is reported as having answered the question of the king of Elam, "Is the military power of ^{ma}N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—^{SUM}-na as great as the military power of Sennacherib?" with the words: "His army is nothing!" VAT 4923:7 = AfO 17 (1954-56) 6 (not dated); further on in the document, Nabū-ahhe-iddina is quoted as saying "(as concerns) the

kingship of AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-*na*, he will appoint a commissioner over the district" VAT 4923 r. 3 = AfO 17 (1954-56) 6 (not dated). ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, sends a letter to Urtaku, king of Elam ABL 918:1 (not dated). We are devoted to ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ CT 53 46 r. 5 (not dated). An omen concerning the kingship of ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*na*, the king's son, my lord SAA 10 109:13 (not dated, letter from Bel-ušeziḫ to Esarhaddon as king). ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*na* SAA 10 109 l.e. 1 (not dated). I spoke, saying, " ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*na* will rebuild Babylon and restore Esagila" SAA 10 109:14 (not dated). Look upon a thousand years of kingship of ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ ABL 368:9 (not dated, letter to Esarhaddon's mother Naqī'a). "Do not fear. ^{AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na} has [sat] upon the throne" ABL 589 r. 1 (not dated). The treasury of the god Humhum, which is under the seal of ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—MU ABL 1247:14 (not dated). [^{maš-šur}AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—MU, the king, your father ABL 752 r. 22 (not dated, letter to Assurbanipal). (The god Bel has spoken), saying, "Like Marduk-šapik-zeri, ^{AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na}, king of Assyria, is on the throne" SAA 10 111 r. 24 (not dated). As with the seed of Sennacherib, AN.ŠĀR—PAB—MU ABL 454:8 (not dated, letter to Assurbanipal). Note the following attestations in fragmentary context: ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*n[a]* CT 54 222:4 (not dated); [^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*[na]*] CT 54 252 r. 6 (not dated); [^{maš-šur}AN.ŠĀR—PAB]—SUM-*na* CT 54 219 r. 1 (not dated).

k. Named in hymns and literary texts: May ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ restore life! SAA 3 10:14 (blessing for the city of Assur). Note that a certain ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ (^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ in l. 16) is mentioned in literary text from Huzirina (Sultantepe). The text has been interpreted as an account of a campaign by Shalmaneser III and the name presently discussed has been taken to refer to Assurnāṣirpal II SAA 3 17:16, r. 8 = RIMA 3 A.O.102.17:16, 40. → Reade (1989) 93-97.

l. Named in clay sealings and memos from Kalhu: ^{AN.ŠĀR}1—[PAB?—AŠ?] (in three impressions of one seal on a clay sealing) CTN 3 26:1, see Watanabe (1993) 110; a note on a clay lump gives the following name and title: [^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—PAB—AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria CTN 3 82:2.

m. Named in a land grant from Huzirina: ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ, [great king, king of Assyria], son of Sennacherib, gr[eat] king, [king of Assyria] SAA 12 24:4 (date lost).

n. Named in legal documents:

1'. A remission of debts by ^{maš-šur}PAB—SUM-*na* king of Assyria is mentioned in a fragmentary legal text from Assur, probably a sale document VAT 10491 r. 9 (678).

2'. It is very rare that a king be named in the date formula of Assyrian legal texts unless, of course, he is serving as an eponym himself. However, that Esarhaddon is king is mentioned quite frequently in legal documents from Nineveh. It is worth noting that this practice is only attested in Assyrian texts dated to the years of three eponyms: Dananu (680), Banbâ (676) and Nabû-bel-uṣur (672).

That Esarhaddon is mentioned in texts from 680 is perhaps not surprising since it is the year of his succession to the throne: i.e., eponymy of Dananu, in the reign of ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ king of Assyria SAA 6 201 r. 14 (680); eponymy of Dananu, governor of Manṣuati, (witnesses), the vineyard was taken [in the reign of ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ king of Assyria SAA 6 202 l.e. 1 (680); eponymy of Dananu, governor of Manṣuati; he (i.e. a slave) was taken in the reign of ^{maš-šur}PAB—SUM-*na* king of Assyria SAA 6 257 r. 18 (680). Why it was deemed necessary to mention Esarhaddon in texts dated to 676 and 672 is, however, unknown: fifth year of [^{maš-šur}PAB—SUM-*na* king of Assyria, eponymy of Banbâ, second vizier SAA 6 212 r. 7 (676); eponymy of Banbâ, second vizier, in the reign of ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ king of Assyria SAA 6 210 r. 18 (676); eponymy of Nabû-bel-uṣur, staff (*ki-šir*) of ^{maš-šur}PAB—MEŠ—AŠ [king] of Assyria SAA 6 245 r. 15 (672); eponymy of [...], in the reign of ^{maš-šur}PAB—AŠ, king of [Assyria] SAA 6 203 r. 3 (date lost); [eponymy of ..., in the reign of Esarhaddon], king of Assyria SAA 6 266 l.e. 1 (date lost). This may be attributed to Babylonian influence, especially in view of two Neo-Babylonian legal texts from Nineveh which are both dated by the regnal years of Esarhaddon only and without naming an eponym. One text is dated to the first year of ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM, king of Assyria KB 4 122 r. 11 (680), the other one to the second year of ^{maš-šur}ŠEŠ—SUM-*na*, king of Assyria KB 4 124:19 (679).

o. Named in the inscriptions of his successors:

1'. In the inscriptions of his son Assurbanipal, king of Assyria:

a. Esarhaddon in the genealogy of Assurbanipal's inscriptions:

In Assurbanipal's inscriptions from Assyria: I, Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^{AN.ŠĀR}PAB—AŠ, king [of the world, king of Assyria], son of Sennacherib, king [of the world, king of Assyria], descendant of Sargon, king [of the world, king of Assyria], viceroy of Babylon, king [of Sumer and Akkad] Prism J 1:11 = Borger (1996) 194, 209. I, Assurbanipal, ..., offspring of ^{AN.ŠĀR}PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria Prism B i 3 // C i 3 // T i 4 = Borger (1996) 92, 205. I, Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^{maš-šur}PAB—SUM-*na* [great king], mighty king, king [of the world, king of Assyria], viceroy [of Babylon], king of S[umer and Akkad (rest lost)] Prism E 1:11 = Borger (1996) 175, 204. I, Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^{AN.ŠĀR}PAB—AŠ, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria. 89-4-26,209:13 = Streck (1916) 288 no. 13. I, Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^{AN.ŠĀR}PAB—AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of the world, [...] K 2631+2653+2855:8 = Borger (1996) 82:8. I, Assurbanipal, ..., son of [^{AN}].^{ŠĀR}—PAB—SUM-*[na]* ... BM 128073:3' = Borger (1996) 200. I, Assurbanipal, ..., [son of ^{AN.ŠĀR}PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria K 2411 iv 7 = Streck (1916) 300 no. 14. I,

Assurbanipal, ..., offspring of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, descendant of Sennacherib, [...] K 2867:2 = Streck (1916) 210. I. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of the Assyria, viceroy of Bab[ylon], king of Sumer and Akkad Cylinder L 6 (P 2):4 = Streck (1916) 236.

In Assurbanipal's inscriptions from Babylonia: I. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, ..., grandson of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.1:4; B.6.32.2:21; B.6.32.12:4; B.6.32.19:13. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.6:3. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.22:4. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.4:5; B.6.32.5:5. I. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—MU, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, ..., grandson of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.14:14. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, [great] king, [...], king of Sumer and Akkad, [grand]son of [Sennacherib, ...], king of the world, king of Assyria RIMB 2 B.6.32.3:5. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of Babylon RIMB 2 B.6.32.8:4. Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of Babylon RIMB 2 B.6.32.9:2. Assur[banipal], son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of the world, [...] RIMB 2 B.6.32.10:2.

In Assurbanipal's land grants: Assurbanipal, mighty king, k[ing of the world, king] of Assyria, overseer, son of ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ, k[ing of the world, ki]ng of Assyria, overseer, son of Sennacherib, ki[ng of the world, k]ing of Assyria, overseer SAA 12 29:2 (date lost, probably 657).

In oracle queries to the god Manlaharbanu: Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria SAA 4 321:4 (not dated); SAA 4 322:4 (not dated).

In colophons of tablets from Assurbanipal's library: Assurbanipal, crown prince of ^maš-šur—PAB—SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad Hunger (1968) 345:3; Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 318:2 = Assurbanipal colophon type b; Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the kings of Kush and Egypt,

king of the four corners of the universe, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 322:2 = Assurbanipal colophon type h; Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 327:3 = Assurbanipal colophon type n; Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, descendant of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 328:7 = Assurbanipal colophon type o; Assurbanipal, ..., son of [^m]AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, king of the world, king of Assyria, [son of] Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 335:3; Assurbanipal, ..., son of ^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—MU, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of Assyria Hunger (1968) 340:1.

b'. Assurbanipal as the chosen heir of Esarhaddon: In the introduction to prisms A and F, Assurbanipal does not give a genealogy but elaborates on how ^mAN.ŠĀR(//AN.ŠĀR//^maš-šur)—PAB(//ŠEŠ)—SUM-na(//AŠ), king of Assyria, heeding the counsel of the gods, chose him as his heir and had his subjects swear an oath to obey this decision Prism A i 8 // F i 7 = Borger (1996) 15, 208. He then reports how he, as crown prince, entered the *bēt redūti*, where his grandfather Sennacherib had ruled as crown prince and king and where his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ // ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—MU was born, raised and had ruled Prism A i 27 // F i 21 = Borger (1996) 16, 208. Assurbanipal habitually calls Esarhaddon his "physical father" *abu bānū*.

c'. Assurbanipal completing or renovating temples built by his father: Assurbanipal finished the construction of the temples in Assyria and Akkad (= Babylonia) which his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, had begun but could not complete Prism C i 11 = Borger (1996) 137, 206. Assurbanipal completed the temple of Assur, Ehursaggalkurkurra, the reconstruction of which was begun by his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria IIT 27 = Fuchs (1996) 268, 291. Assurbanipal renovated the temple of Sin, Nikkal, Šamaš and Aia in Nineveh which ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, had built Prism T iii 19 = Borger (1996) 144, 207. Assurbanipal completed a temple (name lost) which his father had begun to build. He orders the future kings who will renovate the temple to read the inscription with his name and the name of his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, anoint it and make a sacrifice. Then, he is to deposit the inscription together with his own Prism C x 111 = Borger (1996) 164, 254. Whoever destroys the inscription with his name and the name of his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—A[Š] or does not deposit it with his own inscription, is cursed Prism C x 118 = Borger (1996) 164, 254. Similarly, when Assurbanipal rebuilt the temple of Nabû of Kalhu, he curses whoever destroys the foundation inscription bearing his name, the name of his father ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ and of his grandfather Sennacherib Prism CKalach x 113 = Borger (1996) 165, 254.

d'. Assurbanipal completing Esarhaddon's mission in Egypt: ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ Prism A i 54 // B i 53 // C ii 19 = Borger (1996) 17, 212 //

[^mAN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na Prism E 7:8 = Borger (1996) 177, 211, king of Assyria, had gone to Egypt and defeated Taharqa, king of Kush. Later, Taharqa revolted and tried to get rid of the officials whom [^maš-š]ur—PAB—AŠ Prism E 8:5 = Borger (1996) 178, 211 // ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ LET:7 = Streck (1916) 158 = Onasch (1994) 55, king of Assyria, had installed in Egypt. Assurbanipal goes to Egypt to subdue his enemies there. However, to ultimately settle things, he has to go to Egypt for a second time. Upon arrival, he is greeted by the officials whom ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ // ^maš-šur—[r]—..., king of Assyria, had installed there Prism F i 41 = Borger (1996) 25, 215.

e'. Assurbanipal mentioning achievements of his father: Iauta' (Uaite'), son of Hazā-il, king of the Arabs, rebelled against Assyrian rule during the reign of ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria Gottesbrief i 4 = Borger (1996) 77; with the help of Aššur, ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, defeated Iauta' Gottesbrief i 7 = Borger (1996) 77. ^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, king of Assyria, returned goods that had been captured to their sanctuaries K 3087 // K 3405 // Rm 2, 558:5 = Borger (1996) 69:5, see Cogan (1974) 16f.

2'. Named in the genealogy of inscriptions of his son Šamaš-šumu-ukin, king of Babylonia: I, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, ..., son of AN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, descendant of Sargon, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, favourite of Assurbanipal, ... RIMB 2 B.6.33.3:9; I, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, ..., son of AN.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na[a], great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, favourite of Assurbanipal, ..., grandson of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, offspring of the enduring royal lineage of Be'l-bani, son of Adasi RIMB 2 B.6.33.4:18; [I, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, ..., son of A]N.ŠĀR—ŠEŠ—SUM-na, great king, mighty king, [...], viceroy of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacherib, great king, [...], descendant of Sargon, great king, [...] RIMB 2 B.6.33.6:5'. Note an oracle query to Šamaš on behalf of Šamaš-šumu-ukin, son of ^maš-šur—ŠEŠ—SUM-na ([^maš-šur—ŠEŠ—SUM-na in r. 7), king of Assyria SAA 4 262:2, r. 7 (668).

3'. Named in the genealogy of two land grants of his grandson Aššur-etel-ilani, king of Assyria: [Aššur-etel]-[ilani, ..., son of As]surbani[al, ..., son of [^mAN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ [...]] SAA 12 35:3 (626*). [Aššur-etel]-ilani, [...], son of As]surbani[al, [...], son of [^m]AN.ŠĀR—PAB—AŠ [...]] SAA 12 36:3 (date lost, probably 626*).

4'. Named in the genealogy of an inscription of his grandson Sin-šarru-iškun, king of Assyria: Sin-šarru-iškun, great king, [mighty] king, [king of the world, king of Assyria, son of As]surbani[al, great king, mighty king, ki[ng of the world, king of Assyria, son of ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ, great king, mighty king, ki[ng of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, great king, [mighty] king,

[king of the world, king of Assyria, son of] Sargon, [...] Streck (1916) 388:3.

o. The principal sources: → Borger (1956); Borger (1957-58); Borger (1964); Borger (1996); Cogan (1984); Grayson (1975) 81-86, 125-27 and 131f; Hunger (1968) 97-108; Lambert (1969); Milard (1973); Nassouhi (1927); Nougayrol (1957-58); Onasch (1994); Parpola (1983a); Parpola (1993); Parpola (1997); Starr (1990); Steele (1950); Tsukimoto (1990); Weidner (1954); CT 44 3-5; 2 Ki. 19:37; compare Porter (1993) 155-203.

8. Individual from Assur (reign of Assurbanipal): ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ acts as a witness for Qibit-Aššur TCL 9 66 r. 8 (646*); ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ son of [...] acts as a witness VAT 9748 r. 9 (date lost, reign of Assurbanipal, see Abat-Aššur-la-tenni); ^maš-šur—PAB—SUM acts as a witness for Šarru-iqbi A 1789 r. 6 (644* or 629*); it is possible that these references belong to more than one individual.

B. N. Porter/K. Radner (7. k., m.-o.)

Aššūr-aḫu-iqiša ("Aššur has granted a brother"); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^maš-šur—PAB—BA.

Scribe from Assur (before the reign of Sennacherib): [^maš-š]ur—PAB—BA LÜ.šur-šar₄ BA[L.TIL. KI] is mentioned in the genealogy of the scribe of a tablet from Assur in its colophon Hunger (1968) 233:3 (701).

K. Åkerman

Aššūr-aḫu-ušur ("O Aššur, protect the brother!"); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB; Tallqvist (1918) 35.

1. Individual from Assur (reign of Assurbanipal): ^maš-šur—PAB acts as a witness for Arbailaiu and Mutakkil-ereš, sons of Ereš-Aššur, in the division of their inheritance MAss 107 r. 21 (654).

2. Individual from Nineveh (reign of Assurbanipal or later): ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB acts as a witness for Urdaia ADD 2 r. 2 (636* or 625*).

3. Individual from Assur (after reign of Assurbanipal): ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB acts as a witness for Nur-Išsar Rfdn 17 24:9 (618*).

4. Individual from Assur: ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB acts as a witness for Nabû-šallimšunu VS 1 92 r. 7 (617*); may be identical with 3.

5. Horse trainer of the open chariotry, probably from Nineveh: Nabû-eriba, the slave of ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR—DU₈.MEŠ-te is mentioned in an administrative text SAA 11 124 i 1 (not dated); he is probably ^maš-šur—PAB—[AB'], a high official of the chariotry, who is mentioned in a military roster SAA 11 126 r. 2 (not dated).

6. Individual, perhaps from Dur-Bel: ^maš-šur—PAB—PAB acts as a witness for Kaddalanu ADD 500 r. 11 (date lost).

R. Jas

Aššūr-aḫu-... ("Aššur [...] the brother"); Akk.; masc.; wr. ^maš-šur—PAB—[...]; cf. **Aššūr-aḫu-ereš**; **Aššūr-aḫu-ibni**; **Aššūr-aḫu-iddina**; **Aššūr-aḫu-ušur**; instead of -aḫu- "brother," these names could also contain the plural -aḫḫē- "brothers." At least some of the attestations may be interpreted as **Aššūr-našir** (^maš-šur—PAB-[ir]).

1. Details unknown (reign of Esarhaddon): ^maš-šur¹—PAB¹—[x x x] is mentioned in broken context